

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----021719 115268 /41

P 021605Z MAR 76
FM AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5779

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 CAPE TOWN 0299

EXDIS

AF FOR WISNER

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: RH, PINT, PFOR
SUBJ: ANOTHER APPROACH ON INTERNAL SETTLEMENT IN
RHODESIA

REF: CAPE TOWN 221

1. RETURNING FROM VACTION FSO MCDONALD FOUND IN WAITING
MAIL PAPER FROM ALLAN SAVORY, DATED FEBRUARY 9, AND LETTER
FROM SAVORY TO FRANK WISNER DATED JANUARY 26. PAPER WAS
UNTITLED BUT COVERED WITH HANDWRITTEN NOTE ADDRESSED TO
MCDONALD. LETTER IS ORIGINAL SIGNED COPY AND HAD ATTACHED
NOTE ASKING THAT IT BE PASSED ON. BOTH WERE PASSED THROUGH
LANCE REYNOLDS, A RHODESIAN PARTY MEMBER WHO HAD PREVIOUSLY
BEEN IN CONTACT WITH MCDONALD AND IS NOT KNOWN TO BE CONNECTED
WITH INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED IN PREVIOUS APPRAACH (REFTEL).
SAVORY, RHODESIAN PARTY VICE PRESIDENT, IS FORMER RHODESIAN
FRONT MP WHO HELPED FORM RP TWO YEARS AGO AND IS WELL
KNOWN AND OUTSPOKEN LIBERAL. HE WAS INVOLVED IN RECENT
RP PARTY SHAKEUP (PRETORIA A-007) WHICH ENDED IN CHANGE
IN PARTY LEADERSHIP. HE WAS IN GENEVA DURING NEGOTIATIONS
WHERE HE PRESUMABLY MET YOU AND GEORGE MOOSE. IN HIS
COVERING NOTE TO PAPER SAVORY STATES "IF YOU WISH TO

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SEND ANYTHING TO US" DO SO THROUGH REYNOLDS.

2. PAPER BASICALLY STATES THAT RHODESIAN FRONT IS DIS-
INTEGRATING AND THAT WAY IS BEING OPENED FOR MODERATE
WHITES TO INFLUENCE DIRECTION OF SETTLEMENT. HE ASKS
FOR FAVORABLE U.S. AND BRITISH REACTION TO EXPECTED

INITIATIVES IN THIS DIRECTION. TEXT FOLLOWS:

"A) IN LOOKING AT THE WHITE RHODESIAN SCENE FROM A BRITISH OR AMERICAN POINT OF VIEW, ATTENTION MUST BE PAID TO A MAJOR NEW FACTOR. THIS FACTOR IS THE STEADY DISINTEGRATION OF THE RHODESIAN FRONT AS A MONOLITHIC PARTY POLITICAL MACHINE.

"B) THE PARTY WHICH HAS ALWAYS FOUGHT FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND HAS DESCRIBED THE LAND TENURE ACT AS THE CORNERSTONE OF RHODESIAN SOCIETY, HAS ACCEPTED THE NEED TO ABOLISH RACIAL DISCRIMINATION. THE PRIME MINISTER, AND EVEN MORE SURPRISINGLY, THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, HAVE MADE POSITIVE AND FAR-REACHING STATEMENTS IN THIS CONNECTION. (WE NOW AWAIT ACTION AND SHALL MONITOR AND REPORT.)

"C) THE PARTY WHICH HAS TRADITIONALLY ASSOCIATED MAJORITY RULE WITH CHAOS AND COMMUNISM HAS NOW ACCEPTED MAJORITY RULE WITHIN TWO YEARS. THE PRIME MINISTER HAS GONE OUT OF HIS WAY TO ASSURE BLACKS AND THE OUTSIDE WORLD THAT HE IS GENUINE IN THIS, AND HAS MOST RECENTLY MOVED AWAY FROM HIS EARLIER EQUIVOCATION ON THE MEANING OF MAJORITY RULE IN HIS MESSAGE TO THE U.S. GOVERNMENT VIA MR. TOWSEY IN WASHINGTON.

"D) THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE OF THE PARTY HAS RECOGNIZED WHAT IS IN EFFECT THE TOTAL COLLAPSE OF R.F. POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY IN ITS STATEMENT OF 27 JANUARY 1977 THAT IT WOULD HENCEFORTH "PUT COUNTRY BEFORE PARTY".

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"E) THIS LEAVES THE WAY OPEN FOR A WHOLLY NEW ALIGNMENT OF WHITE POLITICAL THINKING. UP TO NOW THE R.F.'S EMOTIVE RACIALISM HAS PARALYZED OPPOSITION WHITE PARTIES AND HAS COWED THE LEADERS OF COMMERCE, INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE.

"F) WE HAVE REASON TO BELIEVE THAT IN THE NEW SHORT SESSION OF PARLIAMENT OPENING ON 15 FEBRUARY, AN R.F. BACKBENCHER INTENDS TO MAKE A SPEECH DESIGNED TO PUT THE R.F. POSITION BEYOND DISPUTE. WE BELIEVE THAT HE WILL ASSERT, AND INVITE CONTRADICTION OR CONFIRMATION FROM HIS COLLEAGUES, THAT HIS PARTY IS COMMITTED IRREVOCABLY TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF MAJORITY RULE AS THAT PHRASE IS COMMONLY UNDERSTOOD IN THE WEST, AND IN CONSEQUENCE IS COMMITTED TO THE TOTAL ABOLITION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION. HE WILL INVITE THE WEST TO WORK WITH HIS GOVERNMENT TOWARDS THIS COMMON OBJECTIVE.

"G) IT IS HOPED THAT THIS STATEMENT WILL PROVOKE AN IMMEDIATE AND POSITIVE RESPONSE FROM INDUSTRIAL, COMMERCIAL AND AGRICULTURAL LEADERS AND OTHERS IN THE WHITE COMMUNITY. EFFORTS ARE BEING MADE TO ENSURE THAT THIS OCCURS. A NEW WHITE MOVEMENT TRANSCEDING OLD POLITICAL BOUNDRIES MAY DEVELOP.

"H) IN HIS CLIMATE THE VERY RECENT STATEMENT OF AMBASSADOR ANDREW YOUNG "ANY SOLUTION HAS GOT TO BE WORKED OUT WITH THE PEOPLE IN POWER" (NAIROBI, 7 FEBURARY, AS REPORTED IN THE PRESS) COULD BEAR FRUIT.

"I) THERE IS STILL A GREAT DANGER THAT THE SITUATION WILL BE MISHANDED BY MR. SMITH. HIS PRSENT BELIEF APPEARS TO BE THAT HE CAN ACHIEVE WHAT IS CALLED AN "INTERNAL SETTLEMENT" PERHAPS BY GOING IT ALONE, INTRODUCING A NEW CONSTITUTION WITH AN ALMOST UNIVERSAL FRANCHISE

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AND YIELDING POWER TO WHOEVER WINS THE SUBSEQUENT ELECTION. EFFORTS ARE BEING MADE TO DEMONSTRATE THE DANGERS INHERENT IN THIS APPRACH AND TO PERSUADE HIM THAT A RETURN TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE IS PREFERABLE.

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----021739 115405 /41
P 021605Z MAR 77
FM AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5780

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EXDIS

AF FOR WISNER

"J) THE VITAL POINT IS HOWEVER THAT THESE DIFFERENCES ARE DIFFERENCES IN APPRACH, NOT DIFFERENCES IN OBJECTIVE. THE NEW STAND OF THE GOVERNMENT WILL MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR MODERATE ELEMNTS IN THE WHITE COMMUNITY TO ASSOCIATE THEMSELVES WITH AND THUS INFLUENCE THE THINKING OF THE GOVERNMENT. MEANINGFUL DIALOGUE WITH BLACK NATIONALISTS BECOMES POSSIBLE.

"K) WE WOULD URGE THE BRITISH AND U.S. GOVERNMENTS TO BE PREPARED TO REACT QUICKLY AND FAVOURABLY TO THE SPEECH TO WHICH WE HAVE REFERRED IF AND WHEN IT IS MDE."

3. TEXT OF LETTER READS:

"DEAR FRANK:

"THIS IS MERELY A BRIEF NOTE AS LANCE REYNOLDS, OUR OTHER RHOEDESIAN PARTY VICE-PRESIDENT, IS GOING TO SOUTH AFRICA AND SO CAN POST IT TO YU.

"TRAGICALLY ALL THAT I FEARED AND DISCUSSED WITH YOU AND GEORGE HAS TRANSPired. MR. SMITH'S ZUPO, WHICH HE WAS PLANNING WHEN GENEVA STARTED, HAS EMERGED AND HE IS DETERMINED TO DO A DEAL WITH THEM.

"HE NEVER INTENDED GENEVA TO WORK AND ALL PREDICTIONS OF HIS ACTIONS HAVE TRANSPired, THUS IT IS OUR FIRM BELIEF

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THAT THE CURRENT BRITISH PROPOSALS ARE REALLY ONLY REJECTED FOR ONE REASON - THAT IS THE BRITISH PRESENCE MAKING THE PROCESS IRREVERSIBLE - ALL THE REST ARE EXCUSES TO HIDE THE REAL REASON.

"IVOR RICHARD FELT IT WAS IMPORTANT FOR US TO SHOW THE OUTSIDE WORLD THAT THERE WAS WHITE OPPOSITION TO SMITH WITHIN RHODESIA. WE HAVE THE OPPOSITION BUT ARE ALMOST TOTALLY MUZZLED. ALL BUSINESS LEADERS ARE TERRIFIED TO OPPOSE SMITH AND HAVE RETIRED BACK INTO THEIR SHELLS: THE LOCAL PRESS, FOR REASONS NOT FULLY CLEAR TO US, ARE PLAYING US DOWN COMPLETELY. STRONG POLITICAL STATEMENTS THEY DECLINE TO PUBLISH AND EVEN MILD ONES THEY DILUTE FURTHER. BROADCASTING IS, AS YOU KNOW, USED AGAINST US. WE ARE LEFT WITH DEMONSTRATIONS, BUT THE POLICE REFUSE

PERMISSION AND OUR PEOPLE HAVEN'T YET THE COURAGE TO FACE GAOL FOR DEMONSTRATING ILLEGALLY. THE SPECIAL BRANCH ARE NOW INVESTIGATING SOME OF THE FEW PEOPLE WHO DEMONSTRATED A COUPLE OF WEEKS AGO.

"OUTSIDE STATEMENTS ARE CARRIED TO A FAIR DEGREE IN THE PRESS AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN NEWS IS PUT OVER IN THE MORNING ON RBC. PERHAPS YOU CAN LOOK AT THESE AS MEANS OF GETTING MESSAGES ACROSS TO THE WHITES IN RHODESIA. THEY NEED TO BE TOLD BY BRITAIN AND AMERICA THAT

"A) MR. SMITH WILL NEVER GET SUPPORT FOR ANY FAKE SETTLEMENT WHICH EXCLUDES THE AFRICAN POLITICAL PARTIES ZANU, ZAPU AND ANC;

"B) UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES WILL WHITE RHODESIANS BE GIVEN AMERICAN MILITARY SUPPORT;

"C) BY REFUSING TO ACT IN THE SPIRIT OF THE KISSINGER PROPOSALS WHITE RHODESIANS HAVE KILLED THEM AND BY NOW REFUSING TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE POLITICAL LEADERS OF BLACK RHODESIANS MR. SMITH IS AIDING COMMUNIST EXPANSION THROUGH CONFLICT.

THESE ARE THE SORT OF BLUNT TRUTHS THAT NEED TO BE PUT OVER HERE. BOTH HERE AND IN SOUTH AFRICA PEOPLE HAVE

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TH IMPRESSION SMITH WAS HONOURABLE IN GREEING TO THE KISSINGER PACKAGE AND RIGHT IN ADHERING TO IT. IT NEEDS AMERIC TO SPELL OUT THAT SEVERAL OF MR. SMITH'S MP'S AND MINISTERS SPOKE AT CLOSED MEETINGS STATING THEIR PLAN WAS NEVER TO CARRY THROUGH TH KISSINGER PLAN BEYOND INSTALLING AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT WHICH THEY CONTROLLED, GETTING SANCTIONS REMOVD, PRODUCING STALEMATE IN THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT AND REINSTATING PARLIAMENT.

"I KNOW MR. VORSTER HAS TOLD IVOR RICHARD THAT HE WOULD HAVE SEEN TO IT THAT MR. SMITH CARRIES OUT THE KISSINGER SCHEME BUT THAT

DOES NOT TALLY WITH MR. VORSTER NOT TELLING MR. SMITH TO DENOUNCE HIS MINISTERS AND MP'S WHO HAD SPOKEN TO SO MANY OF DECEPTION AND TO TAKE SOME ACTION TO

SHOW HIS SINCERITY, BROADEN HIS NEGOTIATING TEAM, CHANGE HIS BROADCASTING THME, GET MINISTERS TO SPEAK IN PUBLIC APPEALING FOR COOPERATION IN THE CHANGES TO COME. AS I WORK IN SOUTH AFRICA AND HEAR WHITE VIEWS, IT IS MY STRONG BELIEF THAT YOU SHOULD TRY TO EXPOSE THIS POINT. UNTIL YOU DO SO PEOPLE HERE BELIEVE THAT THE DISHONEST PARTIES WERE THE AMERICANS, BRITISH AND AFRICANS AND AS LONG AS THEY FEEL MR. SMITH WAS FAULTLESS IT MAKES IT DIFFICULT TO PUT PRESSURE ON HIM.

"MR. SITH'S TV APPEARANCE REJECTING THE PROPOSALS HAS GONE DOWN EXTREMELY WELL WITH MOST WHITS AND WE HAVE NO WAY OF COUNTERING THE HALF-TRUTHS AND UNTRUE ASPECTS OF IT, ALTHOUGH WE WILL KEEP TRYING.

"I MUST END NOW. I WISH WE HAD BETTER AND MORE REGULAR COMMUNICATION. HOPE SOME OF THESE VIEWS ARE OF HELP TO YOU AS IT IS UPON YOU AMERICANS ENTIRELY NOW THAT WE HAVE TO RELY FOR A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION RATHER THAN A WAR WE WILL LOSE.

"GIVE MY REGARDS TO GEORGE PLEASE IF HE IS WITH YOU.

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"YOURS SINCERELY, ALLAN SAVORY."

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** EXDIS

*** Current Classification *** SECRET

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptoning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PERSONAL OPINION, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, PUBLIC ATTITUDES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 02-Mar-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977CAPET00299
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: n/a
Expiration:
Film Number: D770072-0035
Format: TEL
From: CAPE TOWN
Handling Restrictions:
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Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t197703108/aaaafucm.tel
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Litigation History:
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Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: 77 CAPE TOWN 221
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
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Review Event:
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Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2957944
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CORRECTED> srp 970903
Subject: ANOTHER APPROACH ON INTERNAL SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, RH
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/801a28ad-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009